

THE WORDS OF
OF
A WITNESS
AN

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED AT

The Union Celebration

OF

INDEPENDENCE,

AT

SUTTON, MASS.

JULY 5, 1894.

BY L. IVES HOADLY.

Pastor of the Calvinist Church and Society in Worcester, Mass.



Worcester:

WILLIAM MANNING, PRINTER.

Worcester, July 6, 1824.

SIR,

THE undersigned perform a service very grateful to their own feelings, when, as a Committee for that purpose, they present you the thanks of the Citizens who assembled at Sutton, on the 5th inst. to commemorate the Birth-Day of the American Republic, for the appropriate and excellent Address delivered on that occasion—and request a copy for the press.

CALEB BURBANK, }
JONATHAN GOING, } *Committee.*
DANIEL WALDO, }

Rev. L. IVES HOADLY.



Worcester, July 7, 1824.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Address of which you, as a Committee, request a copy, was not written for the press and the eye of the reader, but only for the ear of the audience, as I should deliver it. As it is requested, however, I shall not refuse a copy—its imperfections notwithstanding. And, if it shall prove the occasion of awakening any who may not have heard it to a more becoming gratitude for our civil and religious privileges, and to correspondent prayer and effort to meet the growing moral necessities of our country, my object in preparing it will only be so much the more accomplished.

I have the pleasure to be, Gentlemen,

Yours, &c.

L. IVES HOADLY.

Gen. C. BURBANK, } *Gent.*
Rev. JONA. GOING, } *of the*
Hon. D. WALDO, } *Com.*

ADDRESS.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

I CONGRATULATE you on the return of this Anniversary. It is the Anniversary of our nation's glory: and while the year has called away many to the great congregation of the dead, we still live to celebrate again the Birth-Day of our Independence. Let us enter on the Celebration with devout adoration, and with humble, hearty thanks to that all-disposing Power who preserves us, and rules in heaven as on earth—who exalts to independence and glory, or sinks to servitude and infamy, as he pleases, all the nations of the earth—before whom they are but as a drop of the bucket, or as the small dust of the balance—who alone hath immortality, and who is God over all, blessed forevermore.

Taken in its antecedents and consequents, it is a great event, Fellow-Citizens, which we meet to celebrate—and not only in its *political* bearing. It is the birth of a nation. Our nation was joyfully conceived, in the plantation of infant colonies; and in the happy moment, many, no doubt, were the bright anticipations of the mother country. But the struggles of revolution were to succeed; and at length there was the apprehension, and the sorrow, and the pain, and the travail of birth. A nation grew up from these colonies, and was born among the kingdoms of the world. And though the unnatural mother looked away, in dislike, and was ready to destroy her offspring, the rest of Europe looked on—with wonder and astonishment indeed, but yet with pleasure, to see our happy Republic rising along the western horizon, where all was but a wilderness, and only a handful had been planted a few years before—while her politicians and statesmen reached forth the hand of friendship and alliance, and seemed rejoiced to receive us, and to enrol *The United States of America*, as one among the nations of the earth.

More important still, is the event of our nation's birth, in its *moral* bearing, as viewed in the counsels of heaven. Nothing is fortuitous. Known unto God are all his works and ways, from the beginning; and as the heavens are high above the earth, so are his ways above man's ways.

The great events of a nation's glory are wont to be viewed, too often and by too many, only in their *political* bearing. But with God, we are warranted to conceive they are viewed in far other relations. And how the throne of this or that monarch may be affected, I do not know that he cares to regard, except as it may affect the throne of the Redeemer's kingdom in the world. The *moral* bearing of events is the one great principle, we suppose, by which they are all estimated in the mind of the Eternal. And while, in this respect, he regards every thing as of so much importance, that he extends his watchfulness and care and control unto it—while not a sparrow falls to the ground without his notice, and he observes the most obscure as well as the most distinguished, in human view—while not the slightest event takes place, in the history of an individual, without his direction as to its moral bearing on his kingdom and glory,—how mighty, in importance, must be, in this respect, the birth of a nation—a nation, too, free and independent! An individual is made to exert, in the providence of God, how wide, how lasting an influence on the state of a family, a nation, perhaps the world! And the influence then of a nation, and of a nation free and independent, who can stretch himself to measure it along the history of the world!—who can expand his mind sufficiently to take in all the extent of influence, and cast up the result on the destinies of the human race!

To come, then, to the more particular subject to which I would invite your attention at present—What shall we suppose may have been the design of Heaven, in leading to the settlement and establishment of our nation, as it is, free and independent? What, growing out of the enjoyment of our free institutions and privileges, is our duty as a people? And what shall we consider the prospect before us, accordingly as we suitably discharge our obligations, or fail in christian character?

Heaven had, doubtless, a design in planting and building up our nation. Nor are we to suppose that design any other, as has been suggested, than *moral*. The great men of the world, who figure in the councils and armies of the nations, may view national events principally in a *political* way: turning away their eye from the kingdom of our Lord, if they choose to, they can regard them only as they affect honour and wealth and glory. But in the eye of Heaven things ap-

pear differently; and the design of our establishment, as viewed in the counsels of the Father, we may safely conclude, was the promotion of Jehovah's glory, in giving scope to the salvation procured by the Son.

The establishment of our nation grew out of religious intolerance and oppression; and one design of Heaven in it, was, doubtless, to afford a retreat for abused and injured godliness.

The world had had its infancy; and how well adapted to the rude ideas which at first prevailed, were the ancient services of the Jewish dispensation in religion, and the ancient habits and manners in civil life, every one must be sensible on reflection. All was suited to a state of very moderate cultivation. Where God enlightened by his Spirit, as in Moses and the prophets, it was different somewhat; and Christianity seemed, at first, to fear no descent from the elevation where Christ and his apostles and their immediate successors left it. But the light of former times was partial, and the morning which at first shone out so fair and cloudless, was soon obscured, in the third and fourth centuries and onward, by intervening clouds, obstructing here and there the purer light, till, at length, almost all was lost in the dark ages of Popery and ignorance.

However, the motto of God's providence has been ever *onward*. Childhood, youth and manhood are ever destined to succeed infancy; and so with the world, it was yet advancing. The obtuseness and want of delicate refinement in early ages passed away; nor could the reign of Papal haughtiness and feudal lordship, hold unbroken sway. Light, liberty and refinement were advancing. Already they had some time broken on the world, in the event of the Reformation, when the oppression and yet half-remaining Papal spirit of the age forced the fathers of our country to violate their conscience in the sight of God, or flee for their lives to this then desert wild. Sell their consciences, as honest men, they could not: of course, they left their country; and few, at first, were those who came from any other than *religious* considerations. Under influence of these, they came, and found here an asylum. God had mercifully provided for them; and this, no doubt, was one design of his providence in the origin of our country.

But more—judging from the past, and in view of it, from what may reasonably be expected in the future, may it not have been further designed in our establishment, that we should be for an example to other nations—perhaps I may say to the world—in giving the lead, in civil and religious liberty, in the support and enjoyment of our free institutions?

Consider our origin. We commenced with uncommon prospects. We were mature, I had almost said, as soon as we were born; yea, before we were born as a nation. We have read of other nations, how, though uncultivated, the liberal gifts of nature yet made some rude son of her production a chieftain among his fellows, who, in admiration and in dread of his valour and power, gathered around him and formed a clan, which at length became a nation. So it was with most of the ancient, and so it has been with not a few modern nations. The British nation, powerful and enlightened and refined as it is, grew out of a rude mass made up of the invaders and the descendants of invaders from the Romans, and Danes, and Saxons, and Normans. The sceptre of power was shifted from hand to hand continually, and centuries passed away before any national character was established or formed.

But such was not the origin of our country. If, as to numbers and power, it had an infancy like other nations; unlike all other nations, it has known no infancy in moral and religious and literary character. Our nation sprung to life, at first, in full maturity in these respects. Other nations have crept out from the darkness and half-formed features of rudest ages; but, standing on the shoulders of their fathers, the ancestors of our country stepped across the Atlantic, and commenced the New World at the very point of the Old World's highest elevation: nor do all the annals of colonization and national origin afford a parallel.

The first ancestors of our nation were the most noble, liberal-minded and enlightened men of their age. Hence our course in politics and religion, in jurisprudence, in literature, and in the arts, has been without a precedent and without a parallel. So that now, even the dislike of the mother country is wearing fast away, and the great men of her literature and power are beginning to compliment our country, and to feel proud of our mutual relation, where, till lately, so many have been accustomed to vituperate and slander. Our light, as reflected back across the ocean, they begin to acknowledge; and the influence of our government and free institutions is already felt throughout Europe, as exhibiting an example, an enviable elevation in national happiness, which, amid thrones crumbling here and rising there, they sigh for, indeed, but which, with the oppression of their Crowns, and Lordships, and Bishoprics, and Papal Sees, they can never attain, and must sigh for in vain. The voice of our Chief Magistrate, in his last message to Congress, and the voice of others, no less clear and shrill, has been heard, and it will be still further heard across the Atlantic; and many a rising of

dislike and many a pang of dread has it caused, no doubt, in the breast of Royal Monarchy and Imperial Despotism—while a thousand acclamations, for so promising a report from the temple of Liberty, and as many sighs, that they too might enjoy her, as we do, have burst forth, and murmured along among the more enlightened of the commonalty, from city to city, and hamlet to hamlet. And how much stronger the pulse of freedom is yet to beat, through our example, we do not know—only we hope, that, though the turmoil and confusion to be expected in the change must be great, the spirit of freedom will still be more and more diffused, till the pure elements of liberty and christian uprightiness shall at length come forth, to constitute a national happiness as yet unknown in continental Europe and the rest of the Eastern world. On our own continent, our neighbours in South-America have looked with encouragement to our example; and Greece, too, from the old world, has sent out her cry and call for sympathy: for there was something in our case which reported that we could feel—something, that bid them hope that they too might succeed as we have done. In other things we are not behind, considering our age: but in civil and religious liberty, we are in truth a spectacle ‘unto the world, and to angels, and to men.’ And one design it may have been in the counsels of the Eternal, that we should be so.

A spirit, not of improvement merely, but of innovation and licentiousness of religious and political sentiment, was perhaps to be expected, as resulting almost necessarily from our fallen nature, left to all the liberty of our free institutions. And possibly here opens another design of Providence in establishing us, namely, that he might show, how that after all, give a nation what you will of civil and religious freedom, it must yet look to the love of God, and the pure, spiritual influence of Christianity, for its continuance, its happiness, and its glory.

The institutions of our country, taken in all the varying circumstances of enterprize and excitement, with which our citizens are surrounded, open a vast field for the development of intellectual and moral character. In the general diffusion of knowledge through society, I suppose we stand acknowledged without a rival among the nations of the world. Sections of Europe may be enlightened, and she may boast her prodigies in learning, here and there; but nowhere do we find a nation, through the mass of whose common people, there is floating so much of intelligence and intellectual elevation.

Here, therefore, as would seem, it is given to men again to try, though in a somewhat different way than formerly, how by wisdom we know not God. The friends of liberty and religious truth are concerned not merely with civil au-

thority and power : they have their struggle rather in the collision of intellect and moral feeling. The common mind of the community is too much fed with knowledge, and is by far too wakeful and active, in this country, to be handled by mere physical force. Here, a single lord or baron is not to control his vassals merely by taking advantage of their ignorance, and giving out his mandates in a style of high supremacy. Neither are all, from Dan to Beersheba, to shrink away and hide, or only peep out, through fear of some Popish threat or interdiction. Too much intelligence is abroad : there is too much enterprize of spirit—too strong a love of independence and freedom, from having tasted them, ever to submit to so blind a domination. The contest between freedom and vassalage in politics, and likewise that between truth and error in religion, is not, with us, to depend on the strength of legislative enactment, the weight of authority, and the coercion of physical force. These may trammel and embarrass ; but the elements in motion are too elastic and subtle for these to control. The contest is more like Milton's war among the angels : it is too elevated to be touched by these things : it is a struggle of principle and moral feeling, and lies between mind and mind, and heart and heart, through all our vast and growing Republic. And here, as I said, may be found one design of Providence to show, that give a nation any thing and every thing in other respects, it yet must look to the love of God in the community, and to the pure spiritual influence of Christianity, for its glory, its happiness, and even its continuance.

What is here alluded to might seem to be rather a drawback on our prospects. But notwithstanding this and another thing to be yet named, we may trace the design of Heaven still farther, perhaps, in the part we are destined to act in the coming great moral renovation of our world.

We have glanced at the struggle given rise to, by what of licentiousness of sentiment might be expected, perhaps, in our free institutions. And there is, indeed, the drawback of error, in our religion, more or less, and in various forms—some, and in some places, of philosophic simplicity and high assumption for truth and purity—others, and in other places, of equal assumption, perhaps, but of wild fanaticism, or *jure divino* domination, verging back* most filially to mother church in Papacy. In politics, too, there may be more or less of licentiousness and party feeling, in departing, Federally or Democratically, from the *simplicity* of the good old

* A proposition has been lately made, in the British Parliament, for a union of the Church of England with the Catholic Church of Ireland.

spirit of '76.—Perhaps, however, something of this is necessary in keeping alive the public mind.

But there is another thing which I was to name, which God has been pleased to introduce and perpetuate in our country—perhaps the more to humble us only, that we may be exalted, which in the general and increasing flow of philanthropy and christian benevolence we may hope is the case, while our agency required, shall ultimately make us instrumental of giving the gospel to an important quarter of the globe, and prove the crowning work of Heaven, in planting us, and of our nation's glory, in her consummation. I refer to the evil of Slavery, and to the remedy of it in the accomplishment of the general object of the Colonization Society. And as this subject has been publickly recommended for consideration on this day, I may be expected here to say a word on Slavery in general, while I pass to speak of the duties and prospects of our nation.

Slavery is certainly a great evil, a monstrous outrage on humanity and all that is social in man. Look at the first taking of a slave in his own country. In a war occasioned for the purpose, he is caught and bound. Separated from his friends and all he holds dear, mark his distress as he is torn away from his country and home. Follow him on his passage, chained in the hold of a slave-ship, pinched for food, and abused with severity in every form. See him brought forth, as he arrives, to be sold like a beast to he knows not whom or what! Who, that has humanity, can think of this and not shudder? Who, that has social feelings, and loves his friends and the place that gave him birth, can contemplate it, and not feel chilled with horror, or fired with indignation?

Yet this is not the most affecting to consider. In not a few cases, indeed, it may be the worst immediately, and as respects the slave: but baggard and distressing features of the evil rise, like Hydra heads, the more we contemplate it; and, however viewed, its name is legion. Aside from the ever-present and tormenting reflection, '*I am not free,*' the slave may, in many cases, be as happy as he would be, being still a barbarian in his native country. But, confining our attention to the state of the slave merely, we see not half the evil. And if humanity may weep for the natural and civil evil of slavery, as endured by the slave, piety and godliness may mourn aloud for its moral effects on the surrounding community. Name every thing you can mention, in the catalogue of licentiousness and unbridled lust, and you have but the dis-

gusting and painful picture.* And then the prospect in the increase of blacks, and in this polluting process of moral and political deterioration—oh! it is distressing beyond measure. In the vigorous language of Gen. Harper, at the last anniversary of the Colonization Society, who himself knows the evil, from experience, it is ‘a cancer on the body politic, that is gradually eating its way to the vitals of the State. It is at work while we sleep and when we wake; and it will continue, if not speedily arrested, to pervade and corrode, till at length it has destroyed the entire mass of our social strength and happiness.’ [*Report of Colo. Soc.*]

From this we pass, then, secondly, to what is our duty as a nation free and independent. And here, Fellow-Citizens, our thoughts drift directly, in view of what has come before us, in several different directions. Our literature and our religion, our politics and our charities, must be attended to. Take our great and growing Republic,† and there is a mighty mass of intellect lying through these States, to be enlightened and informed. And here is a duty for our Legislators, and Professors, and Masters, and literary men, one and all, to perform. The public mind is a pool, which, though placid on the surface, must yet, to not prove noxious, have an outlet of gentle passage, and an inlet to supply it with fresh and pure water. It is a human body, which, to preserve it healthy, must experience the pulsations of vital blood in every part. Intelligence and general knowledge must be diffused—our Institutions must pour forth their literature and science—smaller Seminaries must drink of the flowing tide—and to all our Schools, yea, and to every cottage, the gentle stream and purring rill must be directed, that all may be watered. Thus we shall be, in so far as literature is concerned, as the garden of the Lord, well watered and beautiful.

But more—Religion must prevail. Said a foreigner,‡—who, among those who have visited our country, has spoken of us with at least as much truth and candor as any—‘I should be proud to call America my country, could I be sure of the prevalence of the religious principle in her councils.’ And so he might be, Fellow-Citizens; and so it is our duty, as a nation, to hold pure and unsophisticated our holy religion.

* Facts might here be mentioned, but it would only wound our Southern brethren, where we wish rather to convince them that we feel for them.

† The public mind has been often directed to the rapid growth and pressing calls of our nation, and especially our Western country; but the prayers and exertions of God’s people cannot be too often called for, in connexion with this subject—and what is here said may serve to remind them of it.

‡ Hodgson.

It is the bulwark of our nation's safety; and if, as a nation, we have any in the day of trial, it will prove our nation's glory. None can prosper without the favour of Heaven.—Neither nations, nor families, nor individuals can dispense with it. Virtue exalteth a nation, and without it none can stand. Where is ancient Greece, with all her refinement?—where imperial Rome, with all her valour? Long since they sunk, to rise no more.

Here, then, we see our duty: it is, to preserve religion in the community. Our pulpits must hold forth truth, and press it on the conscience. Our weekly papers—our monthly and other journals, and all our literary works must favour truth. Or, as considering the state of man, this can never be expected to be altogether the case, those who love the truth must be able in its defence and diligent in its propagation. Journals to defend and disseminate it must be established and supported with talent and learning and judgment and skill. Above all, the pious of every name must continue instant in prayer. It is like as with a ship at sea—our nation is a mighty ship, and though the whole ocean may not now threaten, the storm may yet arise, and none can tell how soon; and, coming heavy and severe, as sometimes—billows piled on billows—winds blowing fiercely, like a hurricane—dark and joyless too—none can save but God. Prayer is our only safeguard, our only anchor to the windward. Prayer, therefore, and the diffusion of religion, is one great duty of our nation.

This will secure our politics, and make them what they ought to be—which is also another important thing to be attended to by our citizens. Not that we would so much as even look toward a religious establishment. We want nothing of this sort. Still, nothing can be plainer, however, than our duty to guard our politics by religion. What I mean is, that the religious principle should operate in politics as well as in every thing else. This is the duty of our nation in all its citizens. From the highest in office to the lowest in subjection, religious consideration should be the principle of conduct. No other principle, it will be found, will answer.—From the nature of our government, thus elective and free, it must come to be the case, except as men are governed by moral obligation and religious principle, that demagogues will rise here and there, and party spirit will prevail. Indeed, judging from what transpires in reference to elections in some parts of our country—from the caballing, and from the occasional temporary papers established for party purposes—from electioneering addresses, and all the various arts resorted to for an end, one of the greatest dangers in the way of our country's continuance and advancing glory, lies undoubtedly in the temptation offered, in this state of things,

to bribery and corruption and every species of departure from religious principle; and equally clear it is, therefore, that every freeman of our own dear country should carry the spirit of a freeman of our Lord into all his politics. The honest yeomanry, who give in their suffrages, must shut their ears against the harangues of party men, and vote in the fear of God for men of integrity and virtue and independence in regard to party, except as virtue and vice are parties. And so with men who are advanced to office, and have subordinate offices at their disposal: let them act independently of relationship and party interest: let appointments in their mind turn on considerations like these—'Is he competent? Does he value Christianity? Does he approve the truth, though he may not have experienced it in his heart? and are the other circumstances of the case—*party aside altogether*—favourable?' Let our appointments for office be made out on these considerations. This is the true principle, and the only one that is true or safe. No man, as he values his conscience in the sight of God, has a right to act on any other. The principle stated is a principle of eternal truth, and rests on the immutable distinctions of right and wrong. To act on this principle, therefore, is our nation's duty as to politics, in all her citizens, whether of higher or lower grade, and whether in office or out of it, and seeking it.

Moreover, we owe a national duty as to our charities. To help and be helped, to relieve and be relieved, was evidently intended of God to be the state of man; and whether it be the one or the other that falls to our share, is also of his own good ordering—while, if favoured to be enabled to give, our Lord himself has taught us 'it is more blessed to give than to receive.'

With some exceptions, perhaps, we are not to expect objects of charity, at present, to become governmental. Of course, it devolves on individuals as such, and on associations for particular objects, to do what they can, and what, so far as they are concerned, the exigency of the world requires.—Still we may look at the duty in a national point of view; for it is properly obligatory on all, and ought to be so considered. No man, no family, no state, no nation is to live merely for individual and private ends. It is incumbent on all to help their fellows, and thus themselves—so he that watereth shall also himself be watered.

The objects of benevolent exertion are many; and though the call from Pagan lands is never for a moment to be unheeded, till with others they are blest with free political institutions, together with literature and christianity to crown the whole; still we are not in the mean time to cut off our own hands, while we wish to extend bread to the needy; and

attention to our own rising Republic must not be overlooked. Scattered through all the vast extent of territory in our country, we have an immense population coming in upon the present age and those immediately succeeding. Nor is it all, or even a tolerable part of it now, what the emigration was as we glanced at its character at first—so there is the more need of effort, to work the amalgamation to a proper consistency, and infuse the proper life and the right spirit into it. To send forth the necessary intelligence, and disseminate it among individuals through all this Western world—to spread the influence of moral obligation and pure religion over the whole—to infuse it into the body politic—the head, the vitals, and all the limbs and smaller members—and thus to form and wake up the whole mass of our country, as one individual, to deeds of glory and benevolence, is certainly a great work; but it is also, Fellow-Citizens, what we ought to do, and what we must do, as God may enable us. How much of exertion and sacrifice may be required to do all this, we cannot tell, except as things open in progress—but evidently much of both. Men of literature and piety, and political wisdom, and active benevolence, must be felt, in all the springs of influence, through our nation.

And while attention must be thus paid to ourselves in general, some particular objects seem to call. The cause of the Pagans, generally, I have mentioned: that is not to be abandoned, neither as it invites us abroad in Asia, and among the islands of the sea, nor as it calls on us at home among the aborigines of this country. The cause of Greece and Palestine, too, has been espoused in different ways—nor are we to let go of that. But particularly, if we may adopt the sentiment of one who lately touched on this point,* we may name the Jews, as calling on our charities of property or of prayers.—‘We have given a refuge to the oppressed of all other nations,’ says the speaker referred to; ‘now at last let us open our doors to the most oppressed of all, to those from whom we received the records of salvation, who have the blood of Abraham and David in their veins, and who, in all their wanderings, occupy so much of the care of Heaven. It will be an honour to our country to have it told through the world, that when no other region on earth would receive the ancient people of God, they found a refuge in the tranquil shades of America. Take them home,’ says he, ‘imbue them with the spirit of your own institutions, and then send them back to kindle up the light of liberty in Asia, and to break the rayless night of despotism, which now broods over one entire quarter of the globe. It is what we owe,’ contin-

* Dr. Griffin, at the Meeting of the Jews’ Society, New-York.

ues he, 'to the sacred cause of liberty, by which we ourselves have been lifted up to heaven. It is only a reasonable tax for our birthright.' And further—as the passage is so beautiful, indulge me in a single sentence more: 'I love,' says he, 'to trace the obscure glance cast at America from the Mount of Vision, as though from a consciousness of the future relationship between this undiscovered land and Asia. Thus David: 'If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the west.' Thus Malachi: 'From the rising of the sun, *even unto the going down of the same*, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering.'—Let America from her western hills reflect back the morning light which she received from Asia, and thus explain why the eyes of eastern seers went before Columbus to this distant land.'

Another, and the only remaining object I shall name, to which we should feel ourselves under obligations of benevolence and charity, is the redemption of our black population. As an extensive and threatening evil, Slavery is what I have already briefly remarked upon. It now comes up as an evil to be remedied, and the appeal is to our obligations to God, to ourselves, and to the blacks. God has given us no right to lord it over others. 'He hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the earth.' And it is expressed continually, in the declaration of rights in all our constitutions, that all men are born free and to equal rights. Our nation, then, is under obligation to God to liberate its slaves. Nor is it otherwise in regard to ourselves. As it is, there is immense evil in our country, and especially in the slave-holding States, in consequence of Slavery; and in prospect, absolutely, we have nothing but a nauseous amalgamation, removal by colonization, or the dismemberment and ruin of these flourishing States. Who can endure the first or the last; and who will not feel his obligations to redeem and save the slave?—Every American owes this work to himself, as he values the life's blood of his country; and who will not say, also, he owes it to the poor slave? The wretchedness, especially of his intellectual, civil and moral condition, you can as well conceive as I describe: it embraces every thing to awaken pity and compassion. In intellect, he is for the most part—which is his happiness, indeed, while a slave—scarcely a remove from the irrational animals around him: in a civil respect—so far as he has elevation to feel it—he is ever pained with the thought of bondage, in contrast with a freedom never to be obtained; and in regard to his soul, his moral condition, he lies, and is ever likely to, in his present state, in all the dead dormancy of native impenitence, with few traces

of God or of Christ in his mind. Who will not feel compassion for the poor creature? Who will not teach him? Who will not give him freedom in his own dear country? Who will not give him there to apply the balm of Gilead, and there to smell of the rose of Sharon?

This subject must be felt, Fellow-Citizens. It must be felt through our country. We owe it to God—we owe it to ourselves—we owe it to the slaves. Let it be national, and if you please governmental, as it seems necessary it should.—Let the North inform herself on the subject, and feel for the South; and let the South be sustained and cheered by the assurance that she is remembered. While one member suffers, let all the members suffer with it; and thus aid the body politic, under this threatening disease, to relieve itself and find salvation.

The evil, doubtless, can be remedied. For a long time every thing was dark indeed. But light has broke in at length. The Colonization Society promises fair—at least, nothing else promises at all, but coming ruin. A colony is now fairly established, and every thing is favourable, at least as much so as could be expected. Enough there are of the blacks who are wishing to go. Several Legislatures have approved the object. Let it be approved then by the nation. Let us plant a colony in Africa, and with it the gospel of our Lord, and thus fulfil what as was suggested may have been one design of Heaven in giving us our national existence, independence and freedom—the introduction of Christianity to an important quarter of our world, where as yet prevails only the darkness of Satan's kingdom.

But not to tire your patience, I shall briefly notice our prospects, and close. And here I frankly confess, Fellow-Citizens, I am not one of those who are disposed to entertain high expectations for their country on the ground of 'human perfectibility,' as speculated upon by some philosophers and statesmen. True it is undoubtedly, that, sin aside, our species are capable of improvement indefinitely; and, sin excepted, we know not what of temporal greatness could be too lofty and too pure to be expected in our Republic. But sin—I mean sin as a general evil in man and in all men—sin is a mighty retarding, disorganizing principle, operating at all times, and in all the members of the body politic—a principle too against the inroads of which we all, and political men especially, are but too little disposed to take a stand. We do not, therefore, calculate our country's prospects on the susceptibility of improvement in the species.

Nor have we any direct clue to what may lie before us.—Of all this, we have no power of prediction or control. The-

book of Providence, like some books of ancient language, is to be read only backwards—the future is to be gathered only from the past—what is yet to be, only from what has been. General principles, however, may be known, and known in their general operation, with certainty. The example, too, of other nations lies open to contemplation—from all which we form our expectations.

Our national prospects are twofold; and they shall be found to be these or those, according as we meet our obligations in discharge of duty, or fail in christian character.

Ours is a great government. Other governments among the nations are also complicated and extensive. But all the varied governments of men, rude or civilized, are subordinate to the one mighty government, at the head of whose administration sits the King eternal, immortal and invisible, the only wise God.

The object of his government we know. He hath made all things for himself; and for his pleasure they are and were created. His law he promulgated at first; and had the obedience it seeks in us been observed, instead of the penalty incurred, its operation would have diffused one uninterrupted flow of happiness through all the abodes of men, where now are springing thorns and briars and noxious weeds, fit only for the flame. And, passing the law of works, the gospel too, or the law of love—were that obeyed—think how, from the highest seat of power to the lonely hermit of the rock, and the lowly villager of the plain, faith in the Redeemer would wake up one entire emotion of gratitude, and anticipate, in notes of praise from unnumbered millions, the song of those above—‘Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood—unto Him be glory and dominion forever and ever.’ Here then comes out a principle. The object of his government, whether of law or faith, is his own glory in the diffusion of blessedness among the holy, and the prostration of all that exalts itself against him.

And now, lay alongside of this principle the example of the nations, as you contemplate their history here and there, as they have risen and flourished, or withered, decayed and sunk away—and how perfectly the operation of the principle and the state of events agree. Righteousness exalteth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people. There may be eddies in a stream, and in a mighty river great ones; so that what of rubbish and defilement is borne along, may here and there ascend, as though intended for better destination—but as it comes round again to the all-conquering current, away it goes, headlong, down to the opening ocean. So it may be considered to have been in the government of God. Nations

have come forth here and there, and prospered for a time; but persecuting, or not liking, or at best not loving and fostering the kingdom of our Lord, the resistless progress of his government has swept them away, and they are known no more.

So our prospects—overlooking the designs of Heaven—failing to inform our commonalty and all the poorer classes*—neglecting the necessary self-denial and exertion to diffuse through the mass of our great Republic the salt of intelligence and moral worth—not caring to cherish our Public Institutions, or putting our trust in literature and the cultivation of the arts, in political wisdom and national valour—suffering our periodical works, our journals and pamphlets and papers, to publish any thing and every thing, without our exposing error and vindicating truth—giving over religious institutions, or such as inculcate pure religion—pursuing national glory, as though we lived for ourselves and not to bless the world by our example and benevolence—shutting up our charities, and suppressing what has begun to flow—forgetting withal how Slavery, as a ‘cancer, is eating to our vitals.’—If such be our failure in what is great and good, why then it is easy, Fellow-Citizens, to predict and declare our prospects; and you may go and read our coming destiny in the fate of other nations, once flourishing like ours, but now the rubbish of whose remains serve only to tell us what they were, and that their greatness and their glory have passed away. Nay, being exalted as we are in civil and religious privileges, if we thus fail in our obligations and christian character, we shall fall far below the lowest of the nations that have yet appeared.

The sentiment may not be very popular—but whether it be or not, of this I am confident, that, *forms aside altogether*, real religion and piety, such as is found and found only ‘through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth,’ is the safeguard not only of our Religious Institutions, but

* The Proprietors and Managers of our Manufacturing Establishments, many of them certainly, deserve much credit for their attention to the education and moral improvement of those in their employ. Not a few of them having been in Europe, and seen the wretchedness and moral degradation of many in similar establishments there, they have manifested a laudable zeal in the good work of benevolence; and we beg they will here allow us to express our hope, that exertions may be continued and multiplied, according as these establishments shall become older and more extensive—and this too, as the only means of preserving them from at length presenting only a moral waste, and greatly falling off in the amount of yielded profit.

of our nation too; for although the compass and extent of the gospel, as seeking to gather all nations in its bosom, and thus bring them back to the bosom of our God, has not as yet opened fully on the world, those who believe in the prophetic visions of the bible, as given by inspiration, feel assured it will one day prevail. We know the cause of christianity is the one great cause which God pursues; and while every thing that plants itself in opposition, or seeks to throw an obstacle in the way, is wont to be taken up and removed, or trodden under foot in the progress, the nation, whichever it may be, the general and prevailing object of whose government shall coincide with pure christianity, or rather, through the mass of whose population shall be diffused the savour of godliness,—that nation shall stand, yea shall rise and shine, and be looked up unto, among the nations of the earth. Only let salvation and the glory of God be the object of the mass of our people, and we need not fear what man can do unto us. The friends of religious truth and the rights of conscience, as *bound* to the unsophisticated instructions of revelation, may continue to be called to struggle with the varying forms of impenitence and infidelity and worldliness; and storms may arise in the political horizon, which shall put in requisition all the wisdom and sagacity and firmness and skill of our statesmen to steer the ship of state in safety; but with the anchor of hope and the prayer of faith, she shall ride out any gale that may come.—Let us eye the designs of Heaven respecting us—let us keep alive a spirit of intelligence, and not allow the crowded nor the thinly-scattered portions of our population to come forward, like too many portions of European population, ignorant of their bibles and the advantages of a common school education—let us preserve and cultivate our literature, and science, and all the arts—let us secure the influence of religious consideration and sound political wisdom in all advanced to power—let us, finally, be excited by the example of Him, who went about doing good, and left it as a principle whose blessedness in its operation we might experience, that it is more blessed to give than to receive—let us do this, and make our country indeed free, while all the bondmen of its Southern and Western regions, turned into freemen and christians, shall bless the land of their Fathers, and there enjoy with others the gospel of our Lord—let us only, as a people, be impressed with the fear of God, and feel as anxious to secure his favour as we are to keep ourselves within the range of civil regulations of law—let us, as one great nation, make ‘Him our fear and our dread,’—and he shall be to us, in every place, for a munition of rocks. From our great father, the President, as say our

Red Brothers, down through all the members of our nation's family, to the lowest and the youngest capable of understanding, only let the fear of God prevail, as the one great principle of conduct, alike for our Senators and Representatives, our Naval and Military men, and *o'* our public officers—for our Civilians and Physicians, our Pastors and our Professors and Teachers—in a word, for all in all the various ranks and departments of life—let it begin at the altar—let it penetrate the heart of him who ministers—let it pervade the congregation—let it be felt in every family, in every school, and in every heart—let the morning and evening incense thus ascend, as one immense cloud, rising from our country—let this be our course,—and it is easy also to declare our prospects—let this be our course, and we shall shine indeed, our light being come, and the glory of the Lord being risen upon us. No weapon formed against us shall prosper. We shall remain for the admiration of the world, and our nation's light shall be put out only when the great luminaries of heaven shall be extinguished. In this view, we may well close with a single couplet, from one of our own poets:—

‘Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,
 ‘The queen of the world, and the child of the skies.’